# Book Reviews

*Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai'i during World War II.* By Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. xx + 489 pp. Notes. Illustrated. Index. $45.00 cloth

Amid serious concerns about both an intensely militarized security state, as well as President Trump's current moves to criminalize, detain, and deport people vaguely articulated as "Mexican" and "Muslim," *Bayonets in Paradise* chronicles the steps by which historical precedents for such actions have occurred in U.S. history. Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber examine martial law in the Territory of Hawai'i, an understudied event that the authors studied for several decades, gathering evidence from governmental archives accessed through "progressive release of extensive archival materials in recent years" (p. 4).

The book aims to be comprehensive, and with 18 chapters divided into seven parts, it indeed showcases the volume of archival research, which this review selectively outlines. Part One begins with an overview of martial law and military government, showing that the specter of fifth-column Japanese threat, as well as the anticipated response, was already embedded in Territorial plans. It moves then to a convincing chapter detailing the ways that plans for martial law had been carefully constructed beginning in the 1920s by the Army's War Plans Division, and then through concerted efforts by the FBI, military intelligence officers of the Army and Navy, and the Roosevelt administration. Chapter 3 stresses that the well-established structure for martial law only needed an impetus for implementation. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the military government very quickly transitioned into power, not only divesting civilian courts of power, but extending its reach into the illegal seizures of civilians. Indeed, preemptive detention, prior to a formal declaration of war, was possible due to this martial law infrastructure. By December

9, 1941, 473 persons of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry had already been detained, including some detained with warrants that were submitted retroactively for the secretary of war's signature (pp. 44–46).

Chapter 4 details the incursion of martial law into even the most mundane aspects of civilian life, as well as censorship of the media. For this chapter, media censorship under martial law required the authors to innovate the sources and methods they might otherwise have used for a historical study. Chapter 5 describes how martial law, evacuation, and war production created an acute labor shortage in all sectors, including sex work. Not working and absenteeism were articulated into punishable crimes, and hard labor itself was leveraged as punishment (p. 83). More analyses would be welcome on the subject of worker resistance, which under martial law, cohered as a dual strike against capitalist exploitation and militarized labor control (p. 89). Chapter 12, in its coverage of the difficulty of negotiating the arbitrary legal mechanisms imposed during martial law, and the subsequent transition back to the civilian courts, returns to the points raised in Chapter 5. Garner Anthony, territorial attorney general, prioritized the restoration of civilian government, accounting for martial law's encroachment on civilian rights, especially highlighting the fact that "the military orders controlling labor had virtually set aside the Thirteenth Amendment and its prohibition of involuntary servitude" (p. 233).

Chapter 6 analyzes the suspension of habeus corpus in light of General Delos Emmons, who justified a perverse rationale for military control of the justice system by stating that the numerical white minority in Hawai'i would not be fairly served if juries included "citizens of Chinese, Korean, and Philippine ethnic minorities, as well as Japanese Americans" (p. 100). Following such an argument for military control of the justice system, the military provost courts continued on to criminalize—often arbitrarily—tens of thousands of civilians during the war (p. 109).

Chapter 13 offers a study on the fascinating absence of Japanese American internee petitions for writs of habeas corpus during the war, as well as attempts to move prisoners to and from the mainland to avoid judicial proceedings which threatened martial control, what the authors coin "the flight from habeas" (p. 257).

Chapter 7 yields the contradictions of several Japanese imperial projects—Koreans were subject to the same restrictions as those of Japanese ancestry, written into martial law as "enemy aliens" due to their status as Japanese subjects since the 1910 Japanese annexation of Korea. But other contradictions register too briefly here; upon Korean lobbyist appeal to reconsider Korean categorization as enemy aliens, the appeal was denied in part because such a change "might provide an opening wedge for the Formosans, Okinawans,

and other colonists not of pure Japanese blood," (p. 122) which merits serious elaboration. The negotiation with Japan's imperial projects under U.S. martial law, is, of course, an extension of the U.S. imperial project itself in Hawai'i and in the broader Pacific region.

Chapters 8 and 9 trace the significant regulation of affect designed for those designated as "enemy alien" Japanese and the debates and decisions regarding Japanese removal and incarceration, both in the islands and the continental United States. Both chapters review what might be called the ontological disloyalty of Japanese and Japanese Americans in Hawai'i. For instance, even if Nikkei detainees purchased war bonds, donated to the Red Cross or the war effort, spoke English, were Christian and baptized, and had children who were part of the Boy Scouts (p. 163), they still had to confront a *"presumption of disloyalty"* that rendered null the habits of American patriotism (p. 167).

Chapter 10 reiterates the judicial havoc of martial law, as most of the people interned in Hawai'i were taken into custody with no evidence or charges against them. Many of these people were interned illegally; under martial law the Army command in Honolulu arrested and interned both U.S. citizens and those who had been naturalized, explicitly counter to War Department authorization to detain enemy aliens and dual citizens. When the inspector general of the War Department belatedly realized this in June 1943, the Army amended "the records retroactively to specify that confinements had been authorized under the general terms of martial law" (p. 207). Despite Army acknowledgements that Nikkei did not pose a security threat, the military used their presence in Hawai'i as an argument for the continuation of martial law (p.207).

The book ends with the Supreme Court. Tellingly, the Army command wanted a Supreme Court ruling during war itself, to avoid what it thought would be the "more critical view of the comprehensive suspension of civil liberties" if the court ruled during wartime (p. 307). The final chapter, perhaps too simply, treats the persistency of white supremacy codified into law (p. 329). Throughout, a much more rigorous engagement with the histories of settler colonialism in Hawai'i, as well as Native Hawaiian resistance to U.S. empire, could inform the book's premise of justice. As it stands, one of the first introductions to Native Hawaiians is limited to the plantation economy and the emergence of Japanese migration to the islands: "As the indigenous Hawaiian population declined, largely as the result of diseases that had been introduced into the islands, the plantation owners looked to Asia" (p. 10). The authors rehearse the discourse of the disappearing Indian, with the eventual effect of narrating Japanese victimhood against erased indigenous subjectivity. While it could be argued that the book's focus purposefully centers martial

law in Hawai'i during WWII, the sense of injustice for internment camps must be coupled with a more robust critique of occupied Hawai'i, taking much more seriously the ongoing settler violence of the islands. Readers might also look to works by scholars such as Haunani-Kay Trask, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, and Noenoe Silva, as well as new scholars theorizing the nuanced parameters of martial law and settler violence along with their considerations of *Bayonets in Paradise.* In the final part of the book, the authors note an observation made by Judge McLaughlin, presiding in a federal district court, who traces the implication of martial law in Hawai'i: "if what they did here was right, it could be done at any time in any other part of the United States," bringing the United States dangerously close to sanctioning military dictatorship (p. 320). Yet McLaughlin's words harbor a different echo, one that resonates with the tensions between exceptional territorial governance and the terrors of governmental exceptions in occupied lands.

One of the most important sections of the book, part one, offers insights into how surveillance and military technologies might be deployed against Muslims and those "suspected" of being Muslim in the Islamophobic intensification of the current administration. What is chilling and possibly inadvertent, especially in Chapter 1, is how the "prelude" to martial law and military government furnishes an underground architecture for the deployment of violence and curtailing of legal rights. The book's focus on the classification of Japanese and Japanese Americans, racially isolated as "enemy aliens" during the WWII period, is not limited to the surface comparisons between Japanese internment and the threat of President Trump's implied resurrection of carceral camps for Muslims. It also details the governmental, legal, and military processes that would, through unresolved precedent, sanction such detention practices in the unfolding present.

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*Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i.* By Tom Coffman. London: Duke University Press, 2016. xvii + 347 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. $26.95 paper

In *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i,* Tom Coffman exhibits a radical shift by historians in interpreting political events post-1893. When Coffman first published his book in 1998, his title reflected a